

Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-14 ISO-00 SAM-01 IO-14 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 ACDA-19

SAJ-01 NIC-01 AID-20 OMB-01 /190 W

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R 190930Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5665

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

USINT ALGIERS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 1999

E.O.11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PDEV, CV, MZ, AO, PU, PO, OAU

SUBJ: AFRICAN VIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

1. SUMMARY: IN LENGTHY DISCUSSION WITH EMBOFF JUNE 18, PAUL
RUPA, DIRECTOR OF AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST DIVISION OF TANZANIAN
FOREIGN MINISTRY, DESCRIBES TANZANIAN, OAU, AND LIBERATION
GROUP REACTIONS TO DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA. HE
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EXPRESSES SURPRISING DEGREE OF OPTIMISM ON FUTURE OF NEGOTIATIONS

WITH PORTUGAL BUT SAYS AFRICANS WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST ON PORTUGUESE STATEMENT MAKING CLEAR INDEPENDENCE WILL BE GRANTED WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS TO PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES. RUPIA ADDS NEW DETAIL ON STATE OF PLAY BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND VARIOUS LIBERATION GROUPS. IT IS NOT ALWAYS CERTAIN, HOWEVER, WHEN RUPIA IS SPEAKING FOR HIMSELF, TANGOV, OAU, OR LIBERATION GROUPS. END SUMMARY.

2. PORTUGAL, TANZANIA, AND OAU. RUPIA SAID WE ACCEPT SPINOLA GOVERNMENT AS IMPROVEMENT OVER CAETANO REGIME. WE ARE STILL BOTHERED, HOWEVER, BY DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW WITHIN NEW GOVERNMENT, VAGUE STATEMENTS, AND CONSTANTLY CHANGING POSITIONS. AFRICANS WANT TO HEAR EXPLICIT ACCEPTANCE OF INDEPENDENCE FOR GUINEA-BISSAU AND AGREEMENT TO PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE FOR ALL TERRITORIES WITHOUT CONDITIONS, E.G. PRIOR CREATION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION. NEVERTHELESS, WE DO EXPECT TO RECEIVE SOME GOODWILL FROM SPINOLA AND PARTICULARLY SOARES. AS GENERAL NEGOTIATING PROBLEM, RUPIA EMPHASIZED THAT SOARES DOES NOT HAVE MANDATE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT A HENRY KISSINGER HAS. EVEN ALLOWING FOR INSTANT COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN KISSINGER AND WHITE HOUSE, SOARES IS CLEARLY NEGOTIATING WITH LESS AUTHORITY. RUPIA ADDED PARENTHETICALLY, AFTER ALL, "SOARES IS A LEFTIST IN THE

SPINOLA GOVERNMENT." AS RESULT OF THIS SITUATION, NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND LIBERATION GROUPS ARE BOUND TO BE TIME CONSUMING AND BREAK DOWN OCCASIONALLY. AFRICANS WERE MOST SURPRISED WHEN SOARES IMPLIED SEVERAL WEEKS AGO THAT TALKS WITH GUINEA-BISSAU MIGHT BE COMPLETED WITHIN WEEK OR TWO. RUPIA SAID WE EXPECT TALKS TO TAKE LONG TIME AND IT IS FOOLISH TO THINK NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE CONCLUDED QUICKLY. HE RECALLED THAT IT TOOK 10 YEARS FOR ALGERIA TO OBTAIN INDEPENDENCE. IN CASE OF BRITISH AND FRENCH, HOWEVER, WE ALWAYS KNEW THAT ULTIMATE GOAL WAS TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL AREAS. IN CASE OF PORTUGAL WE ARE NOT CERTAIN THIS IS CASE, WHICH IS ONE OF MAJOR AFRICAN CONCERNS TODAY. AFRICANS FORESEE DIFFERENT OUTCOME FOR RESPECTIVE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES IN AFRICA. FROM AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW, GUINEA-BISSAU IS ALREADY INDEPENDENT AND IT IS UP TO PORTUGAL TO RECOGNIZE THIS FACT. IN CASE OF MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA AND CAPE VERDE ISLANDS, IT IS QUESTION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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NEGOTIATING INDEPENDENCE WITH RECOGNIZED LIBERATION GROUPS. THIS WILL ADMITTEDLY TAKE MUCH LONGER.

3. OAU AND RECOGNITION OF PORTUGAL. CONTRARY TO REPORT CONTAINED PARA 3, MOGADISCIO 934, RUPIA CLAIMED NO CONDITIONS WERE AGREED UPON BY OAU COUNTRIES PRIOR TO RECOGNITION OF PORTUGAL. OAU DID AGREE TO URGE ALL AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE NOT ALREADY RECOGNIZED PORTUGAL, NOT TO DO SO AT THIS

TIME. HE SAID THERE ARE NO PLANS FOR TANZANIAN RECOGNITION OF PORTUGAL.

4. GUINEA-BISSAU, CAPE VERDE ISLANDS, AND PORTUGAL. RUPIA WAS NOT AT ALL PESSIMISTIC ABOUT BREAKDOWN IN TALKS IN ALGIERS. HE SAID MAJOR DISAGREEMENT CONCERNS FUTURE OF CAPE VERDE ISLANDS. WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE TALKS WILL BEGIN AGAIN. BOTH SIDES ARE HAMPERED IN THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE FREE HAND TO NEGOTIATE. THEY MUST TOUCH BASE WITH HOME WHEN THINGS GET STICKY AS THEY DID AT ALGIERS. WHEN ASKED IF PAIGC WOULD ACCEPT IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE IN GUINEA-BISSAU BUT REFERENDUM IN CAPE VERDE ISLANDS, RUPIA REPLIED HE TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO GET ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION FROM PAIGC REPS ATTENDING MOGADISCIO OAU CONFERENCE. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT PAIGC INSISTS PORTUGAL (A) RECOGNIZE IMMEDIATELY INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA-BISSAU AND (B) AGREE TO PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE FOR CAPE VERDE ISLANDS. GUINEA-BISSAU GOVERNMENT (PAIGC), ACCORDING TO RUPIA, IS WILLING TO DEAL WITH CAPE VERDE QUESTION LATER AS LONG AS PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE IS ACCEPTED BY PORTUGAL.

5. FRELIMO AND PORTUGAL. RUPIA STATED FRELIMO HAS ALWAYS BEEN PREPARED FOR LONG STRUGGLE AND WAS CAUGHT OFF GUARD BY APRIL 25 CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN PORTUGAL. FRELIMO, ALTHOUGH WELCOMING OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED, WAS NOT READY FOR NEGOTIATIONS. FRELIMO IS PREPARED FOR LONG DELAY UNTIL INDEPENDENCE IS ACHIEVED. IMMEDIATE FRELIMO GOAL IS AGREEMENT BY PORTUGAL OF PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT CONDITIONS. FRELIMO HAS NOTHING TO GAIN, FOR EXAMPLE, BY AGREEING TO CEASEFIRE NOW. IT CAN CONTINUE FIGHTING INDEFINITELY IF NECESSARY. INITIAL FRELIMO-SOARES DISCUSSIONS IN LUSAKA WERE ONLY "GET-TO-KNOW-EACH-OTHER" SESSION. SOARES DID NOT HAVE MANDATE TO DISCUSS DETAILS AND THUS TALKS ENDED CONFIDENTIAL

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AFTER BRIEF SPARING. NEVERTHELESS, FRELIMO CONSIDERS TALKS MOST USEFUL AND IS LOOKING FORWARD TO CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSIONS IN LUSAKA IN JULY. BREAKDOWN OF GUINEA-BISSAU-SOARES TALKS WILL HAVE NO EFFECT ON SECOND ROUND OF FRELIMO-SOARES NEGOTIATIONS.

6. UNITY OF FRELIMO LEADERSHIP. BEARING IN MIND QUERY CONTAINED STATE 127379 (NOTAL) CONCERNING REPORTS OF "SERIOUS DIVISION" WITHIN FRELIMO HIERARCHY, EMBOFF COMMENTED THAT UNLIKE SITUATION AMONG AND WITHIN ANGOLAN LIBERATION GROUPS, FRELIMO APPEARED TO BE MAINTAINING UNITED FRONT. EMBOFF ASKED RUPIA IF THIS IS ALSO HIS ASSESSMENT. RUPIA STATED FLATLY THIS IS ACCURATE ANALYSIS G ADDING THERE ARE NO SIGNIFICANT SCHISMS DEVELOPING WITH FRELIMO. HE THEN HEDGED SLIGHTLY, HOWEVER, BY POINTING OUT THERE ARE,

OF COURSE, DIFFERENT VIEWS WITHIN FRELIMO. FRELIMO
PRESIDENT MACHEL MAY, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT
CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENT MOZAMBIQUE THAN FRELIMO VICE PRESIDENT
DOS SANTOS. SO FAR, HOWEVER, THESE DIFFERENCES HAVE NOT
RESULTED IN ANY SCHISMS OR SPLITS WITHIN LEADERSHIP. (EMB.
WILL RESPOND ADDITIONALLY TO REQUEST IN STATE REFTEL LATER
IN WEEK.)

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INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

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AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

USINT ALGIERS

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7. ANGOLAN LIBERATION GROUPS AND PORTUGAL. OAU SESSION IN MOGADISCIO SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME TRYING TO URGE UNITY AMONG ANGOLAN LIBERATION GROUPS OF MPLA, FNLA, AND UNITA. ALL WERE REPRESENTED IN MOGADISCIO. RUPIA WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT THESE GROUPS WILL FINALLY GET TOGETHER, PROBABLY IN LUSAKA. HE SAID THERE ARE NO BASIC POLICY DIFFERENCES AMONG GROUPS, ONLY SERIOUS PERSONALITY CONFLICTS. INTERESTINGLY, DANIEL
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CHIPENDA, BUT NOT AGOSTINHO NETO, WAS PRESENT AT MOGADISCIO. RUPIA WAS EITHER UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO EXPLAIN ABSENCE OF NETO. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT NETO SUPPORTERS ATTENDED SESSION AND, ALONG WITH ALL OTHER MPLA REPRESENTATIVES, ALLOWED CHIPENDA TO SPEAK FOR THEM. RUPIA CONCLUDED THAT "BRIDGE HAS BEEN BUILT" BETWEEN CHIPENDA AND NETO MPLA FACTIONS. (IT IS STILL NOT CLEAR WHERE NETO STANDS IN ALL THIS.) RUPIA ARGUES THAT ANGOLAN GROUPS MUST UNITE IN ORDER TO AVOID DIVIDE AND RULE TACTICS BY PORTUGAL. HE ALSO SAID UNITY IS NECESSARY SIMPLY BECAUSE LESS TIME WILL BE WASTED BY DEALING WITH ONE GROUP RATHER THAN THREE.

8. SOVIETS AND RECOGNITION OF PORTUGAL. RUPIA CAME DOWN HARD ON SOVIET RECOGNITION OF PORTUGAL. HE SAID OAU COUNTRIES "FELT BETRAYED" BY QUICK RECOGNITION ON PART OF USSR AND YUGOSLAVIA. HE ARGUED THERE WAS NO REASON, FROM AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW, WHY SOVIETS HAD TO RUSH IN SO QUICKLY. ALTHOUGH OAU DID NOT PASS RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THIS ACTION, RUPIA SAID HE HOPES SOVIETS GET THE WORD CONCERNING AFRICAN DISPLEASURE.

9. COMMENT: RUPIA IS ARTICULATE, INTELLIGENT, AND PARTICULARLY WELL INFORMED ON AFRICAN MATTERS. HE HAS BEEN DIRECTOR OF AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST DIVISION OF FONMIN FOR SEVERAL YEARS AND HAS FREQUENT CONTACT WITH LEADERS OF MOST LIBERATION GROUPS. HAVING ATTENDED OAU SESSION IN MOGADISCIO, HE IS IN ESPECIALLY GOOD POSITION TO KNOW CURRENT VIEWS OF OAU AND LIBERATION GROUPS GENERALLY. IN TANZANIAN CONTEXT, RUPIA IS MODERATE, PRAGMATIC, AND CONCILIATORY. ABOVE VIEWS PROBABLY REFLECT THIS GENERAL ATTITUDE. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE, OF COURSE, TO KNOW PRECISELY WHEN HE IS EXPRESSING PERSONAL VIEWS, THOSE OF TANGOV, THOSE OF OAU GENERALLY, OR THOSE OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERATION GROUPS.
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